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# HANDEL'S PUBLISHER, JOHN WALSH, HIS SUCCESSORS, AND CONTEMPORARIES

By FRANK KIDSON

IT would be difficult to tell the story of John Walsh properly without a satisfactory estimate of the London music trade into which he entered in 1692. The reader therefore will, I hope, not find it irrelevant to my subject if I glance in the next few pages at the status of his early contemporaries in the trade.

In a former article in this magazine I dealt with the life of John Playford showing how that energetic royalist in troublous times revived music publishing in England and founded in London a business of the greatest value to the musical art. In the earlier part of his career John Playford had things to himself but as time went on rivals came into the field and Playford was not alone in the closing years of his life. Playford died in 1686 leaving his business and stock in trade to his son Henry. With the great help of his father's established publications Henry Playford carried on an advantagious trade. He reprinted with additional matter, and such changes as changing fashions dictated, many of his father's most popular issues. As for example the catch book which now bears the title *The Pleasant Musical Companion*, also *The Division Violin*, *Musick's Handmaid for the Virginals and Harpsichord* to each of which he added a second book. There were other popular instruction books for the smaller instruments which were reissued from the elder Playford's works besides those ever selling books *The Dancing Master*, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* and *The Whole Book of Psalms*. The editions of these were indeed many and they varied a great deal in contents especially the *Dancing Master*.

Henry Playford's own ventures were *The Theatre of Musick* (4 books, 1685-1687), *Harmonia Sacra* (1688-1693, 2 books with later editions), *Deliciæ Musicæ* (4 books, 1695-1696), *The Banquet of Musick* (6 books, 1688-1692), and some other collections of songs. He also issued single half sheet songs—words and music, following or leading, a fashion which does not appear to have been in usage in his father's time. Henry Playford seems to

have struck out adventures on his own behalf and as stated in my previous article he was among the first to establish musical societies in taverns and the like places.

But he found rivals in trade that his father had not to contend with. Besides the many other music publishers in London where, it is needless to say, the whole music trade of the country centred, the younger Playford had John Walsh as rival, the greatest of his trade compeers.

About the last ten years of the 17th century the rage set in for collecting pictures and other works of art from the Continent. Many of our noblest pictures now in the public galleries were brought from abroad about this date. Dozens of middlemen were searching the Continent for examples of Italian and Dutch Masters and hundreds of more or less professed dealers were furnishing the mansions of noblemen with such works, genuine and otherwise.

There is some evidence that Henry Playford found the dealing in pictures and prints a more successful business speculation than publishing and selling music books ranging in price from a few pence to a few shillings; therefore, he appears to have entered into the trade of a private picture dealer. Henry Playford died or ceased the music business in 1707 at which date we find John Cullen occupying his premises "between the two Temple Gates" at the sign of "The Buck." Cullen in this year advertises numerous works published by the Playford family and from this we may infer that Cullen took over the unsold stock of Henry Playford. Cullen had not a very long business life; I find no notice of him after 1710.

John Young seems next to have acquired what existed in the Playford copyright (a very loose matter in those days), for he published editions of the *Dancing Master*, and *The Pleasant Musical Companion*. But of John Young more later on.

At the end of the 17th century the London Music shops were, with one or two exceptions, all situate east of Temple Bar. St. Paul's Church Yard was the rallying point of the London professional and amateur musician. The musical services in the Cathedral were an attraction and the numerous cosy taverns and coffee houses with the many music shops around the building were centres of musical gossip. We can imagine the little taverns in the alleys and lanes round St. Paul's where a plentitude of sack and ale would be drunk over the arguments and disputes that the science of music has always engendered. For ten years into the 18th century St. Paul's was not finished completely, but from

1697 divine service was conducted in the building. It must have been a sight-seeing affair, a stroll into the Church Yard to note the growing progress of the edifice. And so tradespeople near cannot have been short of custom, least of all the music shops.

One of the music shops, having the sign "The Golden Viol," was kept by John Clarke, the father of the musician Jeremiah Clarke, composer of anthems and of that yet delightful melody "The bonny grey ey'd morn," which is generally put down as of Scottish origin.

Poor Jeremiah Clarke was a victim to Cupid. He fell in love with a lady of position—a hopeless passion as it appeared, for, remember ye modern composers, that those of your clan in the "good old days" were reckoned "not class" and were ranked as little better than common fiddlers. And so it befell that Jeremiah Clarke shot himself in the room over what had been his father's shop on the first of December, 1707.

John Clarke was doubtless the son of an elder John Clarke who republished that interesting volume of Virginal Music *Parthenia or the Mayden Head of the first musick that ever was printed for the Virginals*, dated 1655. John Clarke, the younger, was a publisher of a numerous array of small books of music for the minor instruments of which, so far as my researches go, only one survives. Its title is *Youth's Delight on the Flagelet*, 9th edition, this being in the British Museum Library. The book is either not dated or its date has been cut off by a careless bookbinder.

John Clarke, the younger, was established at the "Golden Viol" before 1681 and remained there until after 1687. Later than this (before 1695) his business was taken over by John Hare, of whom more afterwards.

We learn of Clarke's many ventures from the "*Term Catalogues*" which were lists of new publications issued from 1668 to 1709, chiefly by Robert Clavell and his successors.

Students and workers in bibliographical matters are indebted to the patience and pluck of the late Professor Arber for reprinting this valuable record in three finely printed quarto volumes, 1903-6. From their pages we are enabled to fix absolutely the exact date of publication of many 17th and early 18th century musical works and to find record of still more, copies of which are now non-existent.

These are some of the titles by which Clarke tickled his customers into purchase:—*Ductor ad Pandoran, or a tutor for the treble violin*. This is dated 1682. In the same year was published *The Most Pleasant Companion, or choicest New Lessons for the*

*Recorder or Flute; being a new collection of Lessons, some of which are set the Flagelet way, others for the Violin way, with a scale of flats and sharps very necessary for all gentlemen who love that instrument.*

In the second book of *Youth's Delight on the Flagelet* there are "lessons made on purpose to teach birds with several preludes or flourishes for to help those that have but little fancy." Another, dated 1687, is *Quadratum Musicum, or a Collection of sixteen new songs made upon the greatest and best subjects.*

There were many books of airs and instructions for the "Flagelet," "ingraved on copper plates."

John Hare, whose connection with John Walsh I shall deal with later, took over Clarke's shop and reissued some of his works.

Another important member of the music trade located in St. Paul's Church Yard was John Young. His sign was the "Dolphin and Crown" and his shop was at the corner of London House Yard, at the west end of the Church Yard. He was here in 1699 and remained for about thirty years when his son appears to have continued the business.

This son, Talbot by name, was a violinist of note in his day and the well known catch upon the father and son may be repeated here. It is set to music in *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, dated 1701, published by Henry Playford.

#### CATCH UPON MR. YOUNG AND HIS SON

You scrapers that want a good fiddle well strung  
 You must go to the man that is old while he's Young.  
 But if this same fiddle you fain would play bold  
 You must go to his son who'll be Young when he's old.  
 There is old Young, and young Young, both men of renown.  
 Old sells and young plays the best fiddle in Town.  
 Young and old live together and may they live long  
 Young to play an old fiddle, old to sell a new song.

John Young had sufficient business acumen to commence a series of concerts in the room over his shop where his son Talbot and other performers attended and so attracted music lovers. What more natural than they should purchase their musical wares at the shop below stairs? Young's publications were something on a par with those of Clarke's, that is books of airs for the flute or violin and with one or two single half sheet songs having the music engraved with the words.

A few of the titles of Young's publications may be of interest, especially as, like Clarke's, many have not survived the wear and

tear of time and usage: *The Compleat Tutor for the Violin by Mr. John Banister, to which is added six country dances, the whole fairly engraven on copper plates* 1699. *Instructions for the Flute by Mr. Alex Roathwell* 1699 was also "fairly engraven on copper-plates" as were others such as *Youth's Diversion, being a choice collection of the best and newest tunes for the Flagelet*, 1699. *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinet fairly engraven on copper*, 1699. *Six Sonatas or Solos, three for a Violin, and three for the Flute, composed by Mr. William Croft and an Italian Master* 1699 (*folio*).

These were his early publications; later than this his name occurs on imprints including, as I have before stated, many of the Playford publications. Note the insistence on the music being "fairly engraven on copper." The difficulty moderns find in playing from the crude musical typography of the 17th century will show the advantage of an engraved score. It is easy on a copper plate to unite the tails and quavers which before the new tied note was invented could not be done with moveable music type.

John Young was a reputed maker of musical instruments, the fact being no doubt that, like many another professed maker, he merely stamped his name or pasted his label on instruments that were made for him by unknown workers at their own homes.

About 1700 another important music seller removed into St. Paul's Church Yard; this was Richard Meares. The elder Meares, also Richard, had long been established as a musical instrument maker and music seller. "Without Bishop's Gate, near Sir Paul Pinder's." A label on a viol gives this address and the date 1669. The house of Sir Paul Pinder, a wealthy "Turkey Merchant," who gave a large sum towards the rebuilding of St. Paul's, was so elaborately decorated externally as to be an object not to be mistaken, and served as a sort of landmark for strangers in the City.

Richard Meares the elder was probably a genuine maker of lutes, viols, and kindred instruments.

In 1699 he was at the sign of the Golden Viol in Leadenhall Street from whence, with his son, he removed to the North side of St. Paul's Church Yard with the sign of "The Golden Viol and Hautboy," the latter instrument being added to distinguish it from the "Golden Viol" of John Hare.

From an advertisement it appears that Meares, besides music, dealt in "Ye best sorts of cutlery wares at reasonable prices." Soon after the removal to St. Paul's Church Yard he

took his son Richard into partnership. Of the younger Meares I must say something later.

Another 17th century inhabitant of St. Paul's Church Yard was Humphry Salter. He was here at "The Lute" in 1683 when, in conjunction with Richard Hunt, he published that interesting and very scarce oblong octavo *The Genteel Companion, being exact directions for the Recorder, with a collection of the best and newest tunes and grounds extant, carefully composed and gathered by Humphry Salter*, 1683. He was at the Lute in 1705—perhaps later.

The Richard Hunt above mentioned was also in St. Paul's Church Yard. On October 25, 1661, Mr. Samuel Pepys called on him and saw his lute which Hunt was altering for him and had ready on the 28th of that month. Pepys again mentions Hunt in his Diary under dates April 17th, and 20th 1663.

It was not until about 1725 that Daniel Wright, Junior came into St. Paul's Church Yard. It was on the north side "near the pump." In all probability it was the shop vacated by John Hare that had been Clarke's. Wright used the same sign, "The Golden Bass," "Bass" being substituted for "Viol" which may have been one of the fixtures taken by the incoming tenant. The Wrights father and son were rivals to Walsh and a thorn in his side.

In the shadow of St. Paul's lingered music shops until about the middle of the 19th century. The north side is now given over to the display of women's finery but before these immense emporiums were erected, relics of the 17th century music shops doubtless existed. At the North West corner, at a shop which may have been that of John Young of the "Dolphin and Crown," was in 1751 located Peter Thompson at the "Violin and Hautboy." The Thompson family with their successors, Button and Whitaker, held the business here until about 1830. Then at number 50 on the north side was Thomas Edward Purday. He was here in 1838 and remained until after 1855, I think the last music seller to inhabit the Church Yard. His drawing room lyrics are plentiful among bound volumes of Victorian sheet music.

It is a long stretch from Purday to John Pyper who in 1614 was "at his shoppe at Paul's Gate next into Cheapside at the Crosse Keies," and published that work, now existing in a unique copy, *Parthenia Inviolata*, or *Mayden Musicke for the Virginalls and Bass Viol*, a companion to, or rival, of the better known *Parthenia*, 1611.

Purdy and Pyper might from their own doors have thrown missiles at each others' shop windows had they been living

contemporaneously, and being so inclined, their places of business were so near.

Besides those in St. Paul's Church Yard other music publishers and music sellers were scattered about London at the end of the 17th century. For example, there was John Miller who did business in one of the crazy houses that stood on London Bridge. The bridge was not cleared of these crumbling edifices until the middle of the 18th century. John Miller was at the sign of the "Violin and Hautboy" on London Bridge in 1695. He published in this year *Innocent Recreation, being a choice collection of the newest and best tunes for the flagilet and easie directions how to play on it*. He was principally a maker of violins and his trade card tells us:—"All sorts of musical instruments and strings fitt for them and old instruments mended, and also there you may have all sorts of new Tunes and music books and songs and Ruled Books and Ruled Paper at Reasonable Rates." Before 1711 John Miller had passed away and Elizabeth Miller had the business. Her name is on the *Violin Master Improved*, 1711, and on *The Compleat Musick Master*, 3rd edition 1722.

Going westward, in the Strand, were the business premises of M. Rawlins, "Over against the Globe Tavern in the Strand, near Charing Cross." He professed to be a musical instrument maker and was established in the early years of the 18th century. His name is in the imprints of several musical works and he was blessed with the christian name Mickerpher.

About the same period was L. Pippard who kept a music shop "at Ye sign Orpheus opposite to Tim's Coffee House, in Russell Street, Covent Garden." He issued *The Violin Master Improved* (3 books), and a collection of one hundred and twenty country dances "fairly engraven." Opinions might differ as to the "fairness" of the engraving of this work. This book and the third book of *The Violin Master Improved* are dated 1711. Pippard also issued W. Corbett's two sets of Six Sonatas for two flutes and a bass—and for two violins and a bass, both dated 1713.

Not far off Pippard and a little before him in date was Samuel Briscoe at the corner of Charles Street, Covent Garden; this was in 1694, but in 1720 he was at "the Bell Savage in Ludgate Hill." He published the three parts of *The Songs to the new play of Don Quixote, written by Mr. D'Urfey*, dated 1694 with the same date for the second part. The third part was engraved on copper plates and dated 1696. These interesting Purcell items are of course rare. The first two parts were printed from moveable type by J. Heptinstall.



Joseph Hindmarsh was a bookseller of note who published some interesting musical works in which Henry Purcell's compositions appear—*A New Collection of songs and poems by Thomas D'Urfey* 1683. *Several New Songs by Thos. D'Urfey, set to as many new tunes*, 1684. *Choice new songs never before printed, set to several new tunes by the best masters of music, written by T. D'Urfey* 1684. *A Third Collection of new songs, never before printed, the words by Mr. D'Urfey* 1685. All the above were printed by John Playford junior. Hindmarsh was first at "The Black Bull in Cornhill" afterwards he changed his sign to "The Golden Ball," also in Cornhill.

Another important music publisher of this period was John Hudgebutt. In 1679 he was at "The Golden Harp and Hoboy" in Chancery Lane, later he was "near Charing Cross," or "Near St. Martin's Lane." In 1679 he published *A Vade Mecum for the lovers of Musick, showing the Excellency of the Rechorder, with some new ayres, never before published*. In 1681 he published another work for the recorder:—*The Most Pleasant Companion, or Choice new Lessons for the Recorder, or Flute, being a new Collection of new Lessons set forth by Dots and Notes*. His best known work is *Thesaurus Musicus, being a collection of the newest songs, performed at their Majestie's Theatres and at the Consorts in Viller Street*. There were five folio books of this, dated 1693–4–5 and 6.

I may now tell the reader something as to the mechanical production of music at the close of the 17th century.

As I pointed out in my previous article, John Playford, the second, a young printer of music, was dead; the principal music printers who went into the trade were J. Heptinstall and William Pearson, and there are few music books of that period, printed from moveable type, that do not bear the imprint of one or the other.

In 1689 Heptinstall was in partnership with Thomas Moore. This person, with the help perhaps of Heptinstall, made a great advance in musical typography by the invention of "the new tied note," by which the tails of quavers and semiquavers were united, as in modern music. He also made round heads to the notes instead of the old lozenge shape. The earliest book I have found having the tied note is the second book of *Comes Amoris, or The Companion of Love, being a choice collection of the newest songs now in use*, folio 1688. This was printed by T. Moore for John Carr and Sam Scott. The third book, 1689, was printed by Moore and Heptinstall, the fourth, 1693, and fifth 1694, by Heptinstall alone. Heptinstall printed many of the Purcell first editions

among them being *The Songs in Amphitryon*, 1690. *The Vocal Musick of the Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian*, 1694; *A Song in the Double Dealer sung by Mrs. Ayiiff, set by Mr. Henry Purcell*. Also *Some Select Songs, as they are sung in the Fairy Queen, set to musick by Mr. Henry Purcell*, 1692. *The Songs in the Indian Queen, as it is now composed into an opera, by Mr. Henry Purcell* 1695. This last was published by John May and J. Hudgebutt who confess to having issued it without the consent or knowledge of the composer. Would not the modern autograph hunter of musical items have given much to had the raking over of Heptinstall's waste baskets in search of Purcell MSS?

Among much other work Heptinstall printed editions of Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms*, from the 3rd edition 1697, to the 14th 1717. The 15th edition 1719, was printed by William Pearson.

Whether Pearson, who worked contemporary with Heptinstall's later period, had any connection as apprentice with him is uncertain but he carried the improvement in musical typography still further. The first we hear of Pearson is in 1699 by the publication in folio of *Twelve New Songs with a Thorough Bass figured for the Organ Harpsichord or Theorbo, chiefly to encourage William Pearson's new London Character, composed by Dr. Blow, Dr. Turner, . . .* 1699. In 1699 Pearson's printing office was "next door to the Hare and Feathers, in Aldersgate Street." In 1700 he was in Red Cross Alley, Jewin Street.

In 1724 he was again in Aldersgate Street, "Over against Wright's Coffee House." Here his widow Alice remained until 1742 or after. Pearson's business was extensive. Henry Playford and John Young engaged him to reprint all the Playford publications that were set up in type. He printed Dr. Blow's *Amphion Anglicus*, 1700 and few psalm books issued during the first forty years of the 18th century but were printed by him or his widow.

Into this world of music printing and publishing entered John Walsh in 1692. Whether he was an Irishman as his name seems to imply is a matter of uncertainty. Our first knowledge of him is that he was appointed "musical instrument maker in ordinary to the King in place of John Shaw, surrendered June 24, 1692."

This person was a musical instrument maker who worked at "The Goulden Harp and Hoboy neere the Maypole in the Strand." Walsh adopted the same sign but his premises were in Catherine Street Strand, towards the lower end on the right hand side going

upwards. John Gay in his "Trivia" 1712 tells us of the damsels who lay in wait "where Catherine Street descends into the Strand."

The earliest trace of a Walsh publication I can find is by an advertisement in *The London Gazette* July 15, 1695. This is *The Self Instructor for the Violin, or the art of playing that instrument improved and made easie by plain Rules and Directions*. This work, sold at eighteenpence, was printed for John Walsh (His Majesty's musical instrument maker in ordinary) at the Golden Harp and Hoboy in Catherine Street in the Strand, J. Miller at the Violin and Hautboy on London Bridge, and J. Hare in Freeman's Yard Cornhill." "A Second Book" was published by Walsh in 1697. The following works published by Walsh are recorded in the *London Gazette* at the dates appended, though probably no copies of them are now extant. *The Compleat Flute Master, or the whole art of playing on the Recorder* Aug. 1695. A second edition is advertised in February 1696, and a Second Book in April 1697.

Before the end of the 17th century Walsh had got into his stride and was publishing more important music than cheap and inadequate tutors for the Violin or Flute. In 1696 he issued *A Collection of New Songs by Signior Nicola Matieis . . . to which is added some new ayres . . . fairly engraven on copper plates*. In 1697 he published *A New Book of Songs . . . by Mr. Leveridge* and in the same year songs from the opera "Mars and Venus" by Finger and John Eccles, and those from the opera "The World in the Moon." Most of these were "fairly engraven." In 1700 he issued *Six Sonatas, or solos, three for a violin, and three for a flute* by Mr. William Crofts and an Italian Mr. With this he advertises "a weekly song issued on Thursdays." John Young had previously issued this work in 1699.

In 1700 he also published *Bononcini's Ayres in three parts*, and from this date his publications became more frequent. All the above works were published in conjunction with John Hare "at the Golden Viol in St. Paul's Church Yard and at his shop in Freeman's Yard in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange." Sometimes other music sellers are named on the imprints and in the advertisements but for a long time no work of Walsh seems to have appeared except with Hare's name on the title-page as well as his own.

John Hare had for a short time a shop at the "Golden Viol" in St. Paul's Church Yard, as before mentioned, he had also another in Freeman's Yard Cornhill where he resided and had Daniel Defoe for a neighbour. The business connection between

Hare and Walsh lasted for a long time and into this connection came Joseph Hare, the son. John Hare died in 1725 and his son in 1733.

Besides that of John Hare there is another name found in early Walsh imprints; that of P. Randall. This person had a shop "at the Violin and Lute at Paul's Grave without Temple Bar" in 1707, and 1708. About 1710-1711 Randall's name is given as if in partnership with Walsh at the Catherine Street address.

I believe that Randall was a connection or relative of Walsh and it is to be noticed that after the death of John Walsh the younger, the business devolved upon a William Randall. The partnership with P. Randall did not last any length of time and his name has been erased from the plates of many of Walsh's imprints, as is also the case with the names of John and Joseph Hare.

Whom Walsh got to "fairly" engrave his books is not apparent. What I have seen of his early work is rather more crude than that done by Thomas Cross who was the chief music engraver of the period. Before Walsh came into the field Thomas Cross was without a serious rival. Some mention may be here made of Cross.

So far as I can ascertain, he was the son of an earlier Thomas Cross whom Walpole tells us engraved portraits from 1646 to 1684. He engraved the portrait of John Gamble prefixed to his *Ayres and Dialogues* 1656. Cross senior may have engraved many of the delicate frontispieces and music issued by the elder Playford. In 1683 "Tho Cross junior" engraved Henry Purcell's *Sonnata's of III parts* published by John Playford and John Carr. Prior to about 1708—9 the word "junior" is always appended to Cross' name. After then it is dropped indicating that the father has died.

In 1692 Cross lived in "Three Horse Shew Court, Pye Corner." In the following year he had removed to "Catherine Wheel Court near Snow Hill Holborn." Afterwards he was in Compton Street "near the Pound in Clerkenwell." Prior to Cross all songs with music appeared in books or "collections," what the modern music seller would possibly call "Albums." Cross seems to have been the first to issue single songs engraved with words and music and printed off upon half sheets of paper. These were sold very cheap and met a "long felt want," judging by the great numbers which remain to us after a period of over two hundred years. In Dr. Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* is a denouncement of the sheet song:

Music of many parts hath now no force,  
Whole reams of single songs become our curse.  
While at the shops we daily dangling view  
False concords by Tom Cross engraven true.

Besides single half sheet songs Cross engraved different works for different publishers and musicians. In the latter case, for Henry Carey who published numberless single songs. On certain song sheets Cross vents his rage against a new style of music engraving. On one sheet he engraves the warning "Beware of ye nonsensical puncht ones. On another sheet he states that "having arrived to such a perfection in musick that gentlemen may have their works fairly engraven on copper as cheap as Puncht, and sooner."

The explanation of this is that a readier method of music engraving was introduced early in the 18th century by which the notes were punched by steel dies on soft pewter plates, a method employed to-day, with the advantage of a lithographic transfer. It is probable that Cross in his later time etched his music sheets on zinc by acid, thus saving the expense of copper. Hawkins says that the punched music plate was introduced from Holland by Walsh and Hare about 1710. This may be correct; at any rate it very soon became the only way of providing engraved music but soon a cheaper and a more easily worked metal was introduced and pewter took the place of copper. The Dutch method of punching upon copper is commonly ascribed to Estienne Roger. I am not quite sure how far this is true: such work of his as I have seen gives the suggestion of pure engraving.

Estienne Roger of Amsterdam probably had not so large a business as had John Walsh. Roger flourished at the end of the 17th and early part of the 18th century. He was succeeded about 1725 by Michael Charles Le Cene who reissued many of his publications. Walsh had no qualms of copying such publications as these two put forth. Roger published all the works of Corelli and these were copied by Walsh and by Benjamin Cooke, a music seller at the Golden Harp New Street Covent Garden about 1720.

Walsh copied the Amsterdam publications freely and also the Paris editions, in some cases making a rather poor attempt to reproduce the original ornamental frontispieces.

Paris and Amsterdam were the chief centres from which England drew her Continental musical publications.

Walsh and the other London music sellers had no rivals in the provinces nor in Scotland and Ireland. Music publishing

had been in evidence at Oxford in the 17th century in several notable instances but it was not until well after the middle of the 18th century that any revival took place and then to a very limited extent.

In Edinburgh music was engraved and published by Richard Cooper from about 1725 to 1755. The few music books published in other parts of the United Kingdom were insignificant before the end of the 18th century.

To revert to Walsh, the introduction of the Italian opera was a godsend to him and from 1705 when the first of the series "Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus," was performed Walsh published and republished them during their period of popularity.

Walsh issued them in long upright folio and the series includes the songs in "Arsinoe," "Camilla," "Hydaspes," "Thomyris," "Love's Triumph," and others. Besides the whole opera the songs were reprinted from the same plates and issued as single songs, some being of course more popular than others. Advertisements tell us that before 1706 Walsh was publishing a multitude of books of all kinds. Among these were many collections of country dances published as rivals to the Playford *Dancing Master*, many books of airs for the violin and for the flute, some tunes and music in the various comedies produced and a series of books called *The Lady's Banquet*. Another monthly series which extended over several years was *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music*. This series was commenced in 1703 and ran to at least 1706.

Most of his music at this early date was adorned with elaborately engraved frontispieces by H. Hulsbergh, I. Collins and perhaps others. With praiseworthy economy many of these frontispieces were made to serve for later productions by cutting away the original title while a fresh one, engraved on a separate plate, was inserted in the center of the old one. These frontispieces were generally in the prevailing Dutch taste with a plenitude of fat cherubs, curtains and musical instruments. A later and very beautiful design occurs however as title-page to *Spenser's Amoretti* by Dr. Greene, oblong folio.

As every musician knows, Handel came to England on a visit in 1710 and while here he was prevailed upon to write an opera. The result was *Rinaldo*, produced Feb. 24, 1711. Walsh was eager to include this among the rest of his Italian series and made arrangements with Handel to this effect. The fame of the new comer was great and the opera and songs from it sold well. Walsh is said to have made £1500 out of the transaction and Handel is

credited with the sarcastic remark that Walsh should write the next opera and that Handel should publish it. A copy of this first of Handel's English publications is in my own possession. Within elaborate ornamentation, which has served for several other works, the title (folio) runs *Arie dell opera di Rinaldo, composta dal Signor Hendel, Maestro di Capella di sua Altezza Elettorale d' Hannover.*

Walsh's meanness in money matters seems to have been generally recognized and Hawkins refers to Walsh, generally giving him a very bad character indeed. He says that both Walsh and Hare were illiterate men, "unable to compose a title-page according to the rules of grammar and too penurious to employ others for the purpose."

Hawkins displays much bitterness towards Walsh and a good deal of injustice; why, it is hard now to say. He speaks of Walsh's and Hare's publications "being, in numberless instances, a disgrace to the science [of music] and its professors." Hawkins' tirade against Walsh and Hare is scarcely justified in this latter instance as Walsh's publications are well up to the standard of contemporary work and it is even to-day a pleasure to read from such excellently engraved scores on paper of such fine quality. We get another glimpse of Walsh's personality in Schœlcher's *Life of Handel*, 1857. This author chanced to meet John Caulfield (aged 83) whose father had been apprenticed to Walsh. This man said his father had reported that Walsh was very parsimonious and used to leave pieces of gold upon his desk to test the honesty of his clerks and work people, and that he was very rich. It is difficult now to ascertain whether the above refers to Walsh senior or junior. Caulfield also stated that Walsh was accustomed to give Handel twenty guineas for each oratorio printed but Handel refused to part with *The Messiah* for such a sum. It is obvious that Walsh junior is here meant for the elder Walsh died in 1736 when but few of the oratorios were issued.

*The Messiah* in its entirety was not published until after the death of the younger Walsh, though one curious folio edition *Songs in Messiah an oratorio, set to musick by Mr. Handel* bears a Walsh imprint. There is reason to believe that this was published by William Randall who has used an old title-page, the first three words being inserted from a different plate in one which seems to have been used for all the oratorios as they came out. It is not known what price Walsh gave Handel for "Rinaldo" but certainly Walsh published no more of Handel's work for a number

o years. It is said that Walsh issued certain pirated editions of such compositions as Handel allowed others to publish. That is possible, as copyright was in a very unsatisfactory state. Handel took out a copyright patent June 14, 1720 which covered all his compositions during fourteen years. In 1722 *Floridant* an *Opera as it was performed at the King's Theatre for the Royal Accademy compos'd by Mr. Handel publish'd by the Author* was printed and sold by Walsh and John and Joseph Hare, Prior to this Handel had gone to other publishers to issue such works as he had written. It is noticeable that *All the additional celebrated Aires in the opera of Floridante composed by Mr Handel* was "printed for Rich'd Meares at the Golden Viol in St. Paul's Church Yard." This was engraved by T. Cross.

About this period there was established in Bow Church Yard John Cluer, a music seller, whose engraved work was supremely excellent. To him Handel assigned certain rights of publication.

It was Cluer who first engraved *Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin*, oblong folio. This was "printed for the Author and to be had at Christopher Smith's at the Hand and Musick Book, in Coventry Street ye upper end of the Haymarket and by Richard Meares musical instrument maker in St. Paul's Church Yard. Engraved and printed at Cluer's printing office in Bow Church Yard Cheapside." It is needless to tell the reader that in the 5th suite appears the immortal "Air" which people now call the "Harmonious Blacksmith." This first book was issued on the 14th of November, 1720. It was not until 1733 that Walsh got permission to republish the first volume and to add a second—both in oblong folio. The Christopher Smith mentioned in the imprint given above was father to the John Christopher Smith, Handel's amanuensis. The elder Smith had known Handel in Germany. It is not a far stretch of imagination to realize that young Smith serving in his father's shop had attracted the attention of Handel, that his modest, good qualities had won the great musician's good will and that to oblige his old friend he had brought him from the obscurity of the music shop more into the activity of London musical life. That he found him a faithful friend when age and blindness crippled Handel is quite evident. The elder Smith's name is in the imprint of the opera *Lothario*, produced and published in 1729. Cluer printed this and it was sold by Smith who had then removed into Meard's Court Old Soho.

Both Meare's and Smith's names are in the imprint on *Radamisto*, and the additional airs to the same opera. It is



not my task to follow Handel in his musical career. Suffice it to say there are indications that periodical squabbles with Walsh occurred from time to time and that upon Smith, Meares, and Cluer Handel conferred the power to print and publish a number of his operas.

Cluer struck out a new line in engraving operatic work producing a sort of "minature scores." He says in the preface to *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies*, 1724:

As all things of this nature that have appeared in the world have been generally of a size more adapted for a library than to accompany one abroad, we flatter ourselves with the hope of a favourable reception for this collection, the manner of introducing it being entirely new.

A beautiful edition of *Julius Cæsar* was published by Cluer. In the *Pocket Companion* above mentioned Cluer states that he has a grant from Handel for the sole engraving and printing of it. Cluer was rich in title-pages, most artistically done by Thomas Cobb who married his widow. Cluer published in folio *Tamerlane*, *Richard ye 1st King of England*, *Lotharius*, *Admetus* and others of Handel's operas, some being engraved in octavo for the flute. Probably Handel's attitude, unlike that of other tame-spirited musicians with whom Walsh had to deal, caused the latter to offer more favourable terms for in 1730 Walsh published *Parthenope* and both he and his son in after years published and republished in numerous editions all the works of Handel save and except, as before stated, *The Messiah*. Walsh's Handel publications must have brought much of the £30,000 that the elder Walsh left behind him when he passed away on March 13, 1736.

*The Gentleman's Magazine* of contemporary date gives us this information and further tells us that he was buried in St. Mary's le-Strand, that glorious bit of early 18th century architecture which barely escaped destruction when Catherine Street, Holywell Street, Wych Street and many another historic thoroughfare were swept away to make, what utilitarian minds think, a London Street improvement. I find no tablet or other memorial in the building to remind the modern world of one of the most energetic business men of his time.

It is impossible to adequately comment on the vast mass of music that the elder Walsh put forth. It comprised the work of every musician of note then composing, as well as reprints from dead musicians' work.

Handel had to a great extent superceded the men of Purcell's day and even obscured the light of the great master himself.

But Walsh knew that old fashioned people still preferred him to the new German composer who had settled in England and was taking (under Royal patronage) the musical world by storm. So he ventured great numbers of Henry Purcell's songs in single sheets. He collected the most favourite of these into an edition of *Orpheus Britannicus* having the same title but differing greatly from the authentic editions of Henry Playford's.

According to Dr. Burney it was the elder Walsh who first found out the expediency of issuing music without giving a date on the title page. Speaking of a publication of John Weldon's he says (History of Music, 1789, vol. III, p. 613):

Six of the Solo Anthems were published about the year 1730. I say *about* that period as musical chronology is become a very difficult study. The late Mr. Walsh finding old music books were like old almanacks, ceased very early in this century to ascertain the time of their birth by dates which have ever since been as carefully concealed as the age of stale virgins.

As a matter of fact Burney is more than ten years too late in his estimation of the date of publication of Weldon's Anthems. Before Burney wrote Goldsmith had already put into the mouth of Miss Hardcastle the dictum "Women and music should not be dated!" Musical history has undoubtedly suffered greatly by the lack of the date of publication.

During the period of the first John Walsh's publishing there was established at the corner of Brook Street and Holborn one Daniel Wright. Hawkins gave Walsh a bad character but that was mild in comparison to the one he bestowed on Daniel Wright. He says Wright "never printed anything but what he did not steal." Hawkins mentioned a set of lessons for the harpsichord by Dr. Maurice Greene that Wright had published unlawfully and in an incorrect manner and that Greene had to protest against this in the public press. The advertisement is by chance, and in another connection, reprinted from *St. James Evening News* April 21, 1733, in *The Musical Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 263. Greene states here that the lessons "have been published without my knowledge and consent and that many of them were not composed by me."

I mention Wright in the Walsh connection because he came as a sort of retribution. Walsh in his earlier career did not hesitate to copy such of the Playford publications in title and type of contents as he desired and Wright did the same with Walsh. For example, he issued a *Monthly Mask of Vocal Melody 1718*; a *Merry Musician*; a *British Musical Miscellany or the Delightful*

*Grove* and some others with the same titles and contents similar to those published by Walsh. There was a Daniel Wright junior—the son, who set up shop in St. Paul's Church Yard about 1725 or 1730, also at this time, a connection, one Thomas Wright at the Golden Harp and Violin on London Bridge. He published half sheet songs in conjunction with the two Daniel Wrights.

If we could mentally realise the scene in Walsh's shop and workshop in Catherine Street we should picture a very busy scene indeed. Walsh's publications were innumerable—there is scarcely another word for it. The modern music printer would be appalled at the work involved. There was no sending to Germany for engraved plates; it was all done on the premises of the music seller. Walsh had many apprentices, the most famous being William Smith, who set up for himself as music engraver and music seller at the sign of the "Orange Tree," between Norfolk and Arundel Streets in the Strand, before 1721.

Other apprentices of Walsh became London music sellers and engravers. We can fancy a long room at the back of the shop with young fellows tapping their steel dies into the soft pewter plates. The press room and brawny armed press men ceaselessly turning the great wheel of the rolling press as others inked and cleaned the plates, while boys laid the paper on the plate before it passed through the rollers. That delightful paper—rich and thick, such as no music printer of to-day would be so extravagant to use, if he could get it, which is a doubtful proposition.

When John Walsh, the elder passed to another world his son of the same Christian name had sole charge of the business. He was no wit less clever than his father and he held in succession to his father the royal appointment of musical instrument maker in ordinary to the King. The younger John Walsh discarded the ornamental frontispieces with which his father had adorned his earlier works. Instead he employed bold dignified lettering and the engraving is as clear and as excellent as could be desired. He maintained his father's dislike of dates and it is therefore a very difficult matter to distinguish the works of the elder and the younger Walsh near the period when the change of proprietorship came.

The younger Walsh continued the trade with the same vigour as his father. He published Handel's works as they came out and reprinted such as his father and others had previously issued. He issued selections from Handel in all sorts of forms. He seems also to have kept other music publishers off this ground.

This was by reason of a copyright patent for fourteen years which Handel obtained. It is dated October 31, 1739. In it Handel appoints as sole publisher, "John Walsh, of the parish of St. Mary's in the Strand, his heirs and assigns etc." From this date until the death of John Walsh, the younger, I don't think any of Handel's works were published by any other person.

It is instructive to read from the Walsh advertisements the infinite variety that Handel's compositions were published in. Besides the oratorios and operas in score there was *Apollo's Feast* containing 500 favourite songs from all the operas, in 5 volumes; eighty songs from the Oratorios for a voice and harpsichord; the same for voice and instruments, done in the original keys; seventy-two minuets and marches for the flute, or violin; Sonatas, or chamber airs, from the operas and oratorios for a German flute, and a bass, in 5 volumes, a collection of dance tunes, six books, and "All the operas transposed for the common flute," 5 vols. and a host of other arrangements. When this is considered and the popularity of Handel's music at the middle of the 18th century no wonder Walsh junior died a rich man. According to *The Public Advertiser* and *The Universal Museum* he died on January 15, 1766 and was buried with great funeral pomp at St. Mary's le Strand in the same vault as his father. It is stated he died worth £40,000.

The business at 13 Catherine Street now devolved upon William Randall whom we may imagine to have been a son or grandson of the P. Randall so closely associated with the elder John Walsh in 1710. William Randall immediately went into partnership with one Abell, and Randall and Abell are at the old Walsh address for a year or two. Who Abell was I cannot say, but he disappears and leaves Randall in full possession of the business about 1768. No doubt Randall and Abell were busy reprinting from the Walsh plates such works as met a ready sale, and, besides, there must have been a vast stock left to them.

The imprint "Randall and Abell" is not found on many publications.

It is on the little opera "The Accomplished Maid" which was published in December 1766. It is also on the full score of the "Messiah" which was delivered to subscribers on July 7th, 1767. Apart from his Walsh reprints William Randall appears to have purchased and reprinted some works issued by James Oswald, who died in 1769. In this Randall was partly in association with Straight and Skillern. He issued a reprint of Thomas Morley's "Plain and Easy Introduction to the skill of Music"

in 1771. He issued oblong octavo books of Country Dances and several collections of Vauxhall songs, as those composed by Potter 1773-4, Carter 1777, James Hook 1777 etc.

I am in possession of an interesting printed catalogue of music works issued by William Randall with the date 1776.

On this he very justly claims that he has "the greatest choice of all kinds of music printed in England." It is indeed a wonderful list of all classes of music and of course a vast mass is of the original Walsh publications.

Before 1781 Randall had died and left the business to Elizabeth Randall, presumably his widow. I have not seen any music bearing her name, and I suppose she merely sold the stock remaining to her. She, however, issued a printed list of musical works on sale by her. Before 1784 the premises at 13 Chatherine Street were held by Messrs. Wright and Wilkinson who appear simply to have reprinted from the Walsh plates such of Handel's compositions as were in demand. Wright was probably a Jew. His name was "Harman" or "Hermond" Wright. In 1789 Wilkinson had left the business solely in Wright's hands, and Wright retained the Catherine Street shop until 1799 or 1800. In 1802 he had left it and set up a music shop in the Strand, and so passed the business which had flourished for more than a century.

How it was that the great business built up by the two Walshs came to such an insignificant termination I have no information. Neither Wright & Co. nor Wright alone appears to have published anything on their own account or done anything but issue, with a fresh title, a very few Handel publications. Handel had become common property by the time Wright and Wilkinson came into being and John Bland of 45 Holborn soon began to publish his single songs and complete oratorios in great quantity.

James Harrison of 18 Paternoster Row, the patron of Thomas Stothard who designed for him so many delightful illustrations to his editions of "Clarissa Harlow" and the rest of the works that form his "Novelist's Library," was publishing some of Handel's works in oblong folio (circa 1784).

It was James Harrison who was thoughtful enough to provide for the gentleman amateur a full copy of the "Messiah" for a single German flute!

The music publishing trade is rather different from many another business. It appears to run in succession, as it were, and many of our English firms can trace their origin to earlier firms. For example James Longman of the middle of the 18th century

through Longman and Broderip, and Clementi has successors to-day in Collard & Collard.

So the Walsh family left some modern survivors. Robert Birchall, a famous music publisher of the early 19th century, was assistant to William Randall, and the Birchall firm developed into Lonsdale and Mills, the latter named gentleman, Richard Mills, being nephew to Birchall and surviving to recent years. Samuel Chappell, too, was assistant to Birchall.

In the 18th century there were many off-shoots from the Walsh tree. To carry on the immense business there must have been a multitude of workers who, when free from their apprenticeships, must have struck out for themselves. One notable was William Smith, a music engraver and publisher who was established before 1721 at "The Orange Tree" between Norfolk and Arundel Streets in the Strand. He changed his sign to "Corelli's Head" and about 1738 went to the "Golden Bass" in Middle Row, Holborn. He had served his time with the elder Walsh. He appears to have chiefly engraved for musicians who published their work by subscription. Among these musicians were Michael Christian Festing, Thomas Augustine Arne, Thomas Chilcot, and others. He was engraving a collection of Hymn Tunes (Ashworth's) as late as 1760. Smith's work was no disgrace to the Walsh traditions of excellence.

And thus ends my story of Handel's publishers. Could a bibliography of the publications of the two Walshs be compiled, it would reveal a wealth of music of which the present day has little conception.

The task would be a great one but its compilation would be not an unpleasant one to those bibliographers who delight in such work, and its use to the musical historian would be of the utmost value. Whether any bold spirit or spirits ever will essay the task is a matter that time alone will show.